the men's house. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. It was not considered polite to demand something from another. Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

Division of Labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Muruburucu productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Munduruca clients are a source of continual aggravation to the traders, although they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the Indians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Munduruca society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. Since few Munduruca have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in encouraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and therefore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives upstream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the Indians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

/8 cont./

*241 or if other relatives have come to live in the house, then the plot is
[804] made larger. The calculation is thus basically intuitive, even though it is based on practical experience gathered through generations.

*241 Nowadays, the Indian usually plants a little more than he needs
197 for his own use, to obtain a surplus (along with the surplus of rubber
[43] he has gathered) and improve his lot by using it in the purchase of clothes, oars, machetes, etc. The garden, therefore, helps him to maintain his economic balance at his present stage of acculturation.

[248] Another factor which also depends in part on the terrain is the shape of the plot. Here, however, other elements are already in evidence, especially the influence of neo-Brazilian acculturation. Whenever possible, the Munduruku prefer the traditional shape, which is rounded or elliptic-oval. Thus did the ancestors make their plots, and thus they are made to this day in the villages of the interior. Still in 1957, this garden shape could easily be distinguished when flying over the villages of the Kabitutu and Paranaita. But this is no longer an iron rule. "It depends on the terrain," they told me. But I believe that the influence of the peasants is stronger than that of the terrain. Thus we find gardens of various shapes, elongated, rectangular, and even square. The latter predominate especially in
[361] the Curuá and Tapajós region, and then in areas where the Munduruku
[112] no longer live in village communities but in isolated dwellings. The dismembering of the community and the emancipation of the Munduruku family from the village system are reflected here as they are in many other aspects of the culture.

*241 3. Clearing—tyut tatahm. To clear is to cut down the undergrowth with the machete, removing from the site of the future garden shrubs, young trees, and brush. This is done to prepare for the next task, which is the felling of the trees. In this way, the woodcutters have greater freedom of action. After the trees are felled, it would be impossible to clear the ground of undergrowth. As a rule, the clearing is done in three days' work, and some time is allowed to elapse for the brushwood to dry.